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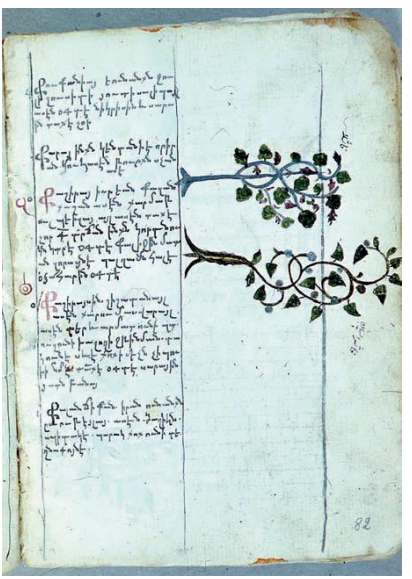
An International Journal of Oriental Studies



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- Ստացված հոդվածները չեն գրախոսվում և չեն վերադարձվում:

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ՎԼԱԴԻՄԻՐ ՊԵՏՐՈՍՅԱՆ

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ. ՄԱՅԻՍ,1920 ԹՎԱԿԱՆ

Խմբագիր՝ Հասմիկ Պետրոսյան

(2 և վերջ)

ԱՆԳԼԻԱՑԻ ԳԵՆԵՐԱԼԻ ՊԱՀԱՆՋԸ

Դեռևս 1919 թ. մարտի 23-ին Անդրկովկասում բրիտանական ուժերի փոխգնդապետ Սթափը Հայաստանի դաշնակցական կառավարության արտաքին գործերի մինիստրին ուղարկած գրությամբ (տրվում է ըստ թարգմանված բնագրի) հայտնում էր. «Անդրկովկասում բրիտանական ուժերի հրամանատար գեներալը տեղեկանում է վստահելի աղբիւրից, որ Ալեքսանդրապոլում բոլշևիկեան կոմիտե հաստատված է, և որ ժամանակէ մը վեր գործուն պրոպագանդ կընէ աշխատավոր դասի, բանակի և երկաթուղիի գործավորների մեջ:

Արդէն սոյն խնդրոյ մասին Ալեքսանդրապոլի հայկական ոստիկանութեան իմաց տրված է, որ իր կարգին տեղեկացրել է հայկական կառավարութեան, խնդրոյ առարկա կոմիտեի գոյութիւն ունենալու մասին:

Բայց մինչև այժմ կառավարութիւնը ոչինչ կատարած չէ: Հրամանատար գեներալը ուրախ կլինի, եթե ձերդ գերազանցութիւնը այժմ և եթ անմիջական քայլեր առնէ վերոհիշյալ բոլշևիկեան կոմիտեն վերացնելու:

Թելադրվում է նաև, որ այդ կոմիտեի լիդերները իրենց արժանի պատիժը կրեն» (**ՀԱԱ,** ֆ. 199, ց. 1, գ. 32, թ. 73):

Զարմանալի չէ, որ անգլիական հրամանատարությունն ուղղակի պահանջում էր վերացնել բոլշևիկյան կոմիտեն և պատժել նրա լիդերներին: Բայց տարօրինակն այն էր, որ կոչումով գրող Ահարոնյանն իր վերոհիշյալ նամակներում հանձնարարում էր կառավարությանը բոլշևիկների նկատմամբ դաժան դատաստան տեսնել, որպեսզի դաշնակից տերությունների մոտ կասկածանք չառաջանա բոլշևիկյան լինելու մեջ:

Եվ դաշնակցական կառավարությունն էլ հետևելով Ահա-

րոնյանի խորհրդին, մայիսմեկյան խաղաղ ցույցերի առիթն օգտագործել է, որպեսզի Անտանտի տերություններին ապացուցի իր հակաբոլշևիկյան դիրքորոշումը, և արյան մեջ խեղդել է ըմբոստացած ժողովրդին:

Դաշնակցական կառավարությունը ժողովրդի արյունը թափել է նաև սեփական իշխանությունը պահպանելու համար:

Ահա, իմ կարծիքով, սրանումն է կայանում մայիսյան ողբերգության գլխավոր պատճառը:

Եթե ընթերցողը ծանոթանա դաշնակցության ղեկավարների գրքերին, հուշագրություններին, ապա անպայման կհամոզվի, թե նրանք ինչպիսի վերամբարձ ցինիզմով են խոսում մայիսյան ցույցերը ճնշելու մասին: Ոչ մի ափսոսանք, ոչ մի զղջում չեն դրսևորում նաև դաշնակցության նորօրյա գաղափարախոսները, որոնք սեփական ժողովրդին արյան մեջ խեղդելու հեղինակներին ներկայացնում են լուսապսակով:

Սեփական ժողովրդի դեմ տարած հաղթանակը դաշնակցության բյուրոն նշել է յուրովի: Ցրվել է պառլամենտը, իսկ Ա. -Խատիսյանի կառավարությունը հրաժարական է տվել: Հաստատվել է դաշնակցական բյուրոյի նոր կառավարությունը Հ. Օհանջանյանի գլխավորությամբ, որը Լեոի գնահատմամբ «**մի խեղճություն էր և հեղինակավոր միայն իր դաշնակցական ստաժով»** (**Լեո,** Անցյալից, էջ 444):

Սեփական ժողովրդի դեմ տարած հաղթանակից ոգևորված դաշնակցական կառավարությունը 1920 թ. մայիսի 24-ին քննարկելով Հայաստանի անկախության հռչակման օրվա մասին, որոշել է «Հայաստանի անկախության հռչակման ճշգրիտ թվական համարել մայիսի 28-ը վերջնականապես» (**ՀԱԱ,** ֆ.199, ց. 1, գ. 118, առաջին մաս. թ. 100): Ընդունվել է նաև որոշում այդ անկախության օրը նշել մեծ շուքով և դրա վրա ուղղել ժողովրդի ուշադրությունը:

Սա նշանակում է, որ երիտ թուրքական կառավարության վերջնագրով սահմանված օրը՝մայիսի 28-ը համարվում է Հայաստանի անկախության օր:

Այդ տոնակատարությանը մասնակցելու նպատակով Երևան եկած Լեոն վկայում է. «Պետությունն անդադար, օր ու գիշեր

թալանվում էր: Նրան թալանում էին դաշնակցական մինիստրները, թալանում էին Բաքվից ու այլ տեղերից դժբախտ լեշի վրա հավաքված գիշատիչները, զանազան տեսակի սպեկուլյանտներ և սրիկաներ, զանազան արդյունավոր հանձնարարություններ, կոմիսիոներություններ, մենաշնորհներ ստանալով մինիստրներից» (**Լեո**, նույն տեղը, էջ 444):

Հայաստանում իշխանության փաստացի տեր դարձավ սեփական ժողովրդի արյան մեջ իր ձեռքերը թաթախած ոչ անհայտ Ռուբեն փաշան՝ Ռուբեն Տեր-Մինասյանը, որը նշանակվեց ռազմական մինիստր: Նա իր վարքագծով բանակում, հատկապես սպայական կազմի մեջ, արմատավորել է թղթախաղը, թալանով զբաղվելը: Կարճ ժամանակ անց, այս ամենի բացասական հետևանքներն ամբողջովին երևացին թուրքական ագրեսիայի ընթացքում:

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ ԲԵԿԶԱԴՅԱՆԻ ՀԱՆԴԻՊՈՒՄԸ ԳՆԴԱՊԵՏ ՀԱՍԿԵԼԻՆ

Կարևոր եմ համարում անդրադառնալ այն հանգամանքին, թե դաշնակցության ղեկավարությունն ինչ նպատակ էր հետապնդում համաժողովրդական զայրույթի պոռթկումը ներկայացնել որպես բոլշևիկների, այսինքն՝ Սովետական Ռուսաստանի կազմակերպած դավադրություն, զինված ապստամբություն Անտանտի տերությունների դաշնակից Հայաստանի հանրապետության օրինական իշխանությունը տապալելու ձեռնարկ:

Բազմաթիվ փաստերից բերեմ միայն մեկը: 1920 թ. Մայիսի 16-ին Վրաստանում Հայաստանի դիվանագիտական ներկայացուցիչ Տ. Բեկզադյանը արտաքին գործերի նախարարություն ուղարկած նամակում հայտնելով, որ մայիսի 13-ին, առավոտյան ժամը 12-ին տեսնվել է գնդապետ Հասկելի հետ, գրել է հետևյալը. «Ես բացատրեցի նրան, որ եթե ամերիկացիները այժմ, այս պահին դադարեցնեն իրենց օգնությունը Հայաստանին, դա նշանակում է, որ նրանք աջակցում են մեծամասնականներին, հնարավորություն տալով նրանց ծավալելու իրենց շարժումը շնորհիվ այն դժգոհության և անարխիայի, որը կարող է առաջ գալ հացի պակասությունից, որ նրանց գնալը (նկատի ունի ամերիկացիներին-

Վ. Պ.) այժմ պետք է ստեղծի հայ ժողովրդի մեջ այն հոգեբանությունը, որ նա այսպիսի կրիտիկական րոպեին թողնված է մեն-մենակ նույնիսկ ամերիկացիների կողմից, որոնք նրա միակ անշահասեր բարեկամներն են, որ այդ հանգամանքը չի կարող հարկավոր թափը ներշնչել հայ ժողովրդին նրա կռվի մեջ ներքին և արտաքին թշնամիների դեմ, մանավանդ այս դժվար հանգամանքում, երբ հայկական պետությունը վտանգված է Ադրբեջանից, ներքին թուրքերից, Թուրքիայից, իսկ այժմ նաև ներքին մեծամասնականներից"(**ՀԱԱ,** ֆ. 200, ց. 2, գ. 91, թ. 1-3):

Սեփական ժողովրդի մայիսյան խաղաղ ցույցերն արյան մեջ խեղդելով, պատժիչ գործողությունները լայն ծավալի հասցնելով և իրենց տարած հաղթանակի մասին մեծ աղմուկ բարձրացնելով դաշնակցությունը ձգտում էր Անտանտի տերություններին աչքին բարձրացնել բոլշևիկյան Ռուսաստանից եկող վտանգի մեծությունը և այդ վտանգի դեմ պայքարելու գործում Հայաստանի դաշնակցական կառավարությանն օգնելու, որպես Անտանտի հավատարիմ դաշնակից լինելու կարևորությունը:

Սա բացարձակ ավանտյուրիզմ էր, ուղղված սեփական ժողովրդի դեմ:

Հովհաննես Բաղրամյանի դիպուկ գնահատմամբ դաշնակցությունը 1920 թ. մայիսին Հայաստանի դեմ մեծագույն ոճիր գործեց իշխանությունը չհանձնելով կոմունիստներին:

Հայաստանում սովետական իշխանության հաստատումը միանգամայն ձեռնտու չէր նաև Մուստաֆա Քեմալին: Նա հասկանում էր, որ դրանից հետո կհայտնվեր ծայրահեղ դժվարին վիճակում, գործ կունենար Սովետական Ռուսաստանի հետ, չէր կարողանա Հայաստանը զավթելով դառնալ Ադրբեջանի սահմանակից և այդ միջոցով իրականացնել Անդրկովկասին տիրելու ծրագիրը:

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Տասնամյակներ անց, դաշնակցության որոշ գործիչներ հետին թվով խելացի դարձան և ընդունեցին, որ եթե 1920 թ. մայիսին համաձայնվեին Հայաստանում խաղաղ կերպով իշխանությունը հանձնել սովետներին, ապա Հայաստանը ոչ միայն չէր ունենա տարածքային կորուստներ, այլև ժողովուրդը կփրկվեր նոր

աղետից, որը նրան պատճառեց քեմալական Թուրքիայի ագրեսիան:

ՎԼԱԴԻՄԻՐ ԳԵՎՈՐԳԻ ՊԵՏՐՈՍՅԱՆ
ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ.ՄԱՅԻՍ,1920 ԹՎԱԿԱՆ
ВЛАДИМИР ГЕВОРГОВИЧ ПЕТРОСЯН
МАЙ, 1920 ГОД

Համակարգչային շարվածքը՝ Դավիթ Պետրոսյանի

Վերջ

History of the Armenian Medicine

Stella Vardanian

Part 2 of 2

The medical conceptions of Armenian Renaissance are reflected rather completely in the works of Grigor Magistros (980-1037), a contemporary of Ibn Sina. A scholar, well-acquainted with ancient culture in all its various aspects and being an erudite, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni displayed his abilities in different branches of Armenian culture - as a poet, a philosopher and a physician. Very often he was forced to interrupt his scientific studies under the quiet, calm arches of the monastery libraries and universities, and put down his pen to take up arms. During the tempestuous years of the last Bagratunis, Grigor Magistros, like his uncle, the sparapet (supreme military leader) Vahram Pahlavuni, took up arms to protect his country against numerous enemies. When the battle cries were silenced and years of peace followed, he again devoted himself to scientific work and to restoring and rebuilding the monasteries destroyed in the different regions of Armenia (Sanahin, Taron, Kecharis, Havuts Tar).He had close ties with scientists and statesmen of Armenia and Byzantine as well.

The capital of the Bagratuni, which at that time had a population of more than 100,000 and was a large trade centre, attracted scientists from different countries of the world. Grigor Magistros kept in touch with many of them by correspondence. Those "Letters", of which very fortunately part has survived, give a picture of the life and customs of the time, the culture at the Armenian capital - in other words, the wide sphere of Magistros' interests as physician and philosopher. One of his letters was addressed to Kyriacos, the Byzantine physician. who lectured at Ani on the physiology of the digestive organs. During the discussion, the Greek physician, replying to a question given by Grigor Magistros, said that nothing whatsoever interested him, outside his narrow sphere. In his brilliant letter of reply, a wonderful example of the epistolary art, Magistros exposed such a one-sided approach and, in the light of ancient natural philosophy, he explained the close affinity existing among natural phenomena. In this scientific dispute with Kyriacos, which lasted a number of years, Magistros revealed his profound knowledge of medicine and the works of Plato, Hippocrates, Galen, Asclepiades, Nemesius of Emesa, whose successor he considered himself.

Grigor Magistros was not only fascinated by theoretical questions on medicine, he was also a skilled practical physician. In his letter to the abbot of Sevan monastery, he wrote about the disease of Gagik, the last king of the Bagratuni dynasty. In other letters he described small pox with which his own son had been infected or gave sensible instructions to Sarkis vardapet who suffered from liver illness. Thus we see in Grigor Magistros an experienced physician with fine professional sensitivity, well-versed in clinical medicine and especially in phytotherapy. He advised one of his correspondents who was suffering from liver disease, to use lettuce seeds. "If the shell of the seed is white, it brings about weakness which induces sleep. Often, if it is put on the wound, it has a soothing effect on the patient who has fever. If its seed is mixed with saffron and put on the patient's forhead, it reduces the inflammation of the burning wound. There are many other sorts of lettuce which we believe are helpful not only to patients suffering from fever".

Such an intellectual atmosphere promoted the development of the secular sciences and, of course, medicine. It was in Ani, during the peak of the Bagratuni rule that original studies on problems of pathology, therapy and pharmacology, so-called bzheshkaran's (medical books) first appeared. Unfortunately time has not preserved for us the author's name of the famous "Bzheshkaran", which was written during the rule of "the victorious King Gagik"(this refers to King Gagik I (990-1020) of the Ani Bagratuni dynasty), in other words, at about the same time as when Ibn Sina created his "Canon". Later it was edited in Cilician Armenia and was called the "Gagik-Hetumian Bzheshkaran".Vahram Torgomian, the honoured historian of Armenian medicine, believed that the author of medical book of Ani was Grigor Magistros, while the Cilician materials in "Gagik-Hetumian Bzheshkaran" belonged to "Mekhitar the Great". [Fig.4]

It is not at all accidental that the above-mentioned "Bzheshkaran" was edited in Cilician Armenia and was enriched with two additional sections. After the fall of the Bagratunis (in 1045) the Rubenid Cilician state became one of the political and cultural centres in medieval Armenia. Later, in 1198, it set up the Rubenid kingdom, where Armenian intellectuals - poets, musicians, painters, scientists and physicians gradually gathered. In Hromkla, in the patriarchal chambers of Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali (1166-1173) and Grigor Tgha (1173-1193) and in Sis, the capital of the Rubenid and Hetumid kings, favourable conditions were set up for the development of the natural sciences and medicine in the spirit of the traditions of Armenian Renaissance.[Fig.5]

The fruitful scientific and medical activities of Mekhitar Heratsi were connected with Cilician Armenia and the medical school there. He was

called "Mekhitar the Great" by his contemporaries and by physicians of later periods. He was the founder of medieval Armenian medicine. He played the same role in Armenian medicine as Hippocrates did for Greek, Galen for Roman and Ibn Sina for Arab medicine. He gathered, studied and deduced from the experience of the past in classical as well as folk medicine, creating such works as have not lost their value even today. The necessary preparatory work was done by unknown Armenian physicians, the precursors of Mekhitar Heratsi, who translated the scientific heritage of Greek, Roman and Arab physicians and also created a number of works of their own, mainly on pharmacology and therapy. But all that was not enough for such a serious, demanding scientist as "Mekhitar the Great". This is how he characterized the existing conditions in Armenian medicine at that time, in the preface to his work "Consolation of Fevers": "I, Mekhitar Heratsi, insignificant among physicians, have been since childhood, a follower of wisdom and the art of medicine and having studied the Arabic, the Persian and the Greek Science, saw, by reading their books, that they mastered the perfect art of medicine, according to the first sages - philosophers, that is, the prognostic, the essence of medicine; while among Armenians, I did not find the like, but only about treatment".

Leaving his native town of Her (present day Khoy in Perssia) in the first half of the 12th century, the young Mekhitar departed for Cilician Armenia, where he received a medical education and the honorary title of "bzheshkapet"(doctor of medicine). Being a man of unusual energy, a peaceful life with a definitely-patterned routine was not for him. By character a man fond of experiment and research, he often travelled to distant lands in search of medicinal herbs thus leading the adventurous life of a periodeuta (travelling physician). After that a new period in his life began when he experimented on the pharmacological properties of drugs, at patient's bedside, the results of which are summarized in his works. It was during that period that he wrote his studies on the anatomy of man, biology, pathology and pharmacology. The great part of these works, unfortunately, because of the tragic fate of the Armenian people, are lost forever. Only individual fragments are to be found in collections in the manuscripts of later physicians.[Fig.6]

That Mekhitar Heratsi was a physician and a natural-scientific researcher with broad interests may be seen from even those short extracts entitled "On the Structure and Origin of the Eye", "On Hernia", "On Precious Stones", "Predictions of Storms and Earthquakes". As far as his works on pharmacology and pathology are concerned, they too were long thought to be lost. However, later specialists in the history of Armenian medicine

believed that they were also included in the "Gagik-Hetumian Bzheshkaran" together with the work "Consolation of Fevers". [Fig.7]

As a result of such rich, prolific work in science and medicine, the Armenian "bzheshkapet" had, by the 60's of that century, attained great fame in medicine. He was a close friend of Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali who dedicated to him one of his natural-philosophic poems entitled "On the Heavens and its Stars". In the 80's of the 12th century, Mekhitar Heratsi began the main work of his lifetime, the "Consolation of Fevers", for which he perseveringly gathered material over a long period of time.He was not only reading the works of ancient physicians and the Arabs also, but roaming over the marsh-ridden valleys of Cilician Armenia and studying malaria widespread in those places, and other contagious diseases.

It was not at all surprising, therefore, that that work was the centre of attention of all those concerned with the welfare of the people. First and foremost among them was the philosopher and poet Grigor Tgha, the Armenian Catholicos, who encouraged and aided the "bzheshkapet" in all aspects of his work. In the preface to "Consolation of Fevers" Mekhitar Heratsi wrote: "I wanted to write this book briefly, within the best of my ablities, on only three kinds of fevers with prognostic and therapy... I enjoyed the love and patronage of Grigor (Tgha) supreme Catholicos of Armenians, who was responsible for my writing this work...That was why I agreed to write this book, for the sake of necessity and usefulness... We wrote this book, calling it "Consolation of Fevers", so that it would console the physician with knowledge and the patient with good health". Convinced that his book would be helpful not only to specialists but for the people too, Mekhitar Heratsi wrote it not in "grabar"(ancient Armenian) which was the scientific language of that time, but in middle Armenian, the vernacular of Cilician Armenia. His daring step is evidence of the democratic nature of the great "bzheshkapet's" outlook which left its deep impact on later development in Armenian medicine. Mekhitar Heratsi devoted much effort to creating medical terminology in Armenia. He followed the right path, using basically Armenian words. Numerous terms which he created at that time, have been preserved and are in use in modern medical literature today.

The "Consolation of Fevers" reflects the world-outlook of Mekhitar Heratsi as a great scientist, his spontaneous materialistic approach to the essence of fever-causing factors. This resulted in his unique, so-called theory of "mouldiness " which explained also the origin of tumours. Besides the external aetiological factors, well-known to ancient and Arabic authors (Hippocrates, Galen, Ibn Sina), for the first time in medicine he suggested a new idea of "mould" as a living factor. Levon Hovhannissian, a prominent

scholar in the history of Armenian medicine, wrote: "It is an irrefutable, objective fact that up to the premicrobiological period, no physician ever used such a term to describe the essence of infection, one so close to the truth, as did Mekhitar Heratsi". Heratsi classified fevers into "one-day", "mouldy" and "wasting"(consumptive) fevers. In this case however, our "bzheshkapet" was guided by intuition when he separated one-day fevers, which do not fit within the limits of humoral pathology. To explain their pathogenesis he referred to the pneumatic theory of ancient authors. Here however, the main point is that the experienced physician did not overlook some "unusual" features of the course of the disease. This serves as a basis for us to suppose that in the one-day fever group, he described a few kinds of allergies (physical, chemical, neuropsychical).

In the "mouldy" fever group Mekhitar Heratsi included a number of contagious diseases widespread in the Middle Ages as, for example, malaria, typhoid fever and septic diseases, the plague, small-pox, measles. The extensive experience of the great bzheshkapet enabled him to clarify the mouldy nature of fever, especially the highly contagiousness of typhoid fever."If the patient suffers much from high temperature and moves uncomfortably from side to side, if his belly swells and if at a percussion, a tympanic sound is heard, you may be sure that he will die, especially if there are black dots on his body as large as sumac. People should stay away from him and not come in contact with him", he wrote in his "Consolation of Fevers". It was later, in the 16th century, that in European science the famous Italian physician Girolamo Fracastoro developed these ideas in his work "On Infection, Infectious Diseases and their Treatment"(1546).

As for the wasting (consumptive) fevers which correspond to the different clinical forms of tuberculosis in Mekhitar Heratsi's opinion, they are brought about by emotional disturbances, over-exhaustion, malnutrition, unfavorable climatic conditions - factors which even today, medicine considers of great significance in the pathogenesis of tuberculosis.

In describing symptoms and the course of fevers, Mekhitar Heratsi comes to light as a serous, wise physician who mastered the different methods of examining the patient beginning with a detailed anamnesis with the patient to the objective methods used in medicine even today as examination, palpation, percussion, auscultation. Heratsi placed great importance on taking the patient's pulse, determining the temperature as well as an analysis of the mucous, urine and other discharges. He approached the disease from a dialectic point of view, dividing it into four stages. Applying the Hippocratic theory, he advised physicians to have an individual approach to each patient, taking into consideration the course of the disease and its stages and accordingly foretell its outcome.

Armed with such knowledge, Heratsi used the experimental approach, often contrary to the scholastic point of view, and developed a complex system of cure based on the use of medicaments, especially herbs, as well as dietetic and physical methods. Faithful to the ancient principles of medicine, the Armenian "bzheshkapet" suggested conducting the treatment according to Hippocrates, that is curing "opposites by opposites". Mekhitar Heratsi considered phytotherapy the most important, based on Armenian folk medicine as well as on the experience of ancient and eastern medicine.

In treating contagious-allergic diseases, the most useful among the medicaments suggested by the Armenian "bzheshkapet" were the herbs with antibacterial, antiinflammatory and antiallergic properties. The following herbs are used in complex prescriptions in the "Consolation of Fevers": water-lily, violet, iris mullein, hyssop, inula, mugwort, plantain, liquorice plant, meadow saffron, caper bush, mint, caltrops , thyme and many others. Besides herbs, drugs of animal origin (castoreum, ox bile) may be found in those prescriptions as well as mineral preparations (Armenian clay, sulphur, zinc, boric etc.). They are endowed with tonus-raising, antisclerotic, antitoxic. hormonic and many other still scantly explored medicinal properties.[Fig.8]

Mekhitar Heratsi suggested special diets for patients suffering from fever, which included mainly greens, vegetables and fruit, fresh as well as dried, juices and sweets prepared from them. Patients were advised to use coriander, basil, celery, okra, purslane and such fruit as pomgranate, quince, grapes, oleaster, figs, jujube plums. The Armenian "bzheshkapet" advised giving the patient easily-digestible food as fresh fish, chicken, meat broth, egg yolk, milk (for tubercular patients goat and donkey milk was recommended).

Among physical methods of treatment, Heratsi considered water therapy (shower, baths) as well as cold spongings and gymnastic exercises very important. Armenian bzheshkapet also attached great importance to psychotherapeutic methods, suggestion, using music for that purpose. Thus during "one-day" fever which, in his words, come about from "worries and bitter cares", he recommended the following."Amuse (the patient) with games and jokes and in every way possible, make him gay. The patient should listen to the songs of gusans (minstrels) as much as he can, to the sounds of strings and delightful melodies".

The oldest copy of "Consolation of Fevers", written in 1279 may be found today in the Mashtots Matenadaran (codex 416). The study of this work reveals the high level of Armenian medicine during the time of Mekhitar Heratsi. All this truly places the Armenian "bzheshkapet" among the first

ranks of medieval physicians. In 1908 Ernest Seidel who translated the "Consolation of Fevers" so brillantly into German, had the following to say about the Armenian physician:"For example, when we, without prejudice, compare Hildegard's "Physics" which was written a few decades before, with that of the Armenian master, we are compelled to definitely grant the laurel of the first place to Heratsi for having basically known nature, for his consistent and individual thinking and for being completely free of the yoke of scholasticism".

Grigoris (13th c.) was also a physician of the Cilician school, whose "Analysis of the Nature of Man and his Ailments"(Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 415) gives a picture of the development of pathology and clinical medicine in Cilician Armenia. The detailed clinical data in Grigoris' book is evidence of the fact that in Cilician Armenia, hospitals were developing, where physicians could follow the course of the disease directly at the patient's bedside and not be satisfied with only information gathered from books. Thus, on evidence given by Armenian historians, hospitals, homes for lepers and other such homes were set up in Cilicia during the rule of the Rubenids. In that respect very much was accomplished by King Levon II (1185-1219), his daughter Queen Zabel (1222-1252), King Levon III (1270-1289) and other representatives of the Rubenid and Hetumid dynasty.

As for a etiology, Grigoris was Heratsi's follower applying the theory of "mouldiness" not only to "mould fevers" but also to wasting (consumptive) fevers, extending it over various diseases of the lungs, heart, liver and stomach. Like Mekhtar Heratsi, Grigoris too, studied the contagiousness of fevers, especially that of tuberculosis and leprosy. With reference to tuberculosis, he wrote the following:"Those between 18-35 years of age become ill with tuberculosis because at that age man's nature are mild, and if the pus becomes mouldy, it contaminates his lungs very quickly... Wise physicians say that those who become infected with that disease are those who come in contact with the patient especially in summertime and if the room is rather small. Infection may also be inherited from the parents". Thus, in giving a picture of lung tuberculosis, he mentioned the "pulmanic noduli", "ulcers" and "calculi" which the modern pathologist interprets as tuberculous infiltrates, cavern and the focus of calcination. Grigoris developed another of Heratsi's thesis on the need to study the anatomical structure of the sick organism, thus becoming the forerunner of pathologic anatomy in medieval Armenian medicine.

The medical activities of the Armenian physician Aharon of Edessa and his family (in 12-14th centuries) were closely connected with the Cilician school. Stepanos, the son of Aharon, created a valuable medical book

entitled "Dsaghik"("Flower" or more exactly, "Anthology") in 1232. In the preface of the book Stepanos wrote, "I, Stepanos, the son of physician Aharon of the Edessa, also called Urfa, God's humble servant, composed what has been considered helpful by the study of many, and which I have studied from such physicians as my father, and the Great Mekhitar and Simon". Stepanos' work, which summarizes data on clinical medicine and pharmacology was barbarically destroyed, along with numerous other Armenian manuscripts , in Turkey during World War I and the Armenian massacres.[Fig.9]

The activities of the Syrian physicians Abusaid, Ishokh, Faradj in Cilician Armenia during the 12-13th centuries is of great interest. The scientific ties between Armenian and Syrian physicians, about which there is evidence from the end of the 10th century in medical books of Ani, were particularly strenghtened in Cilician period. They all lived in an Armenian environmert, wrote in middle Armenian and were in close friendly relations with prominent figures in Armenian culture, Nerses Shnrhali and Nerses Lambronatsi (1153-1198). [Fig.10]

Such works as "On the Structure of Man"(12th c.) by Abusaid, "Book on Nature"(13th c.) by Ishokh, "Bzheshkaran on Horses and Other Beasts of Burden"(1296-98) by Faradj and other medical and biological treatises were very popular in medieval Armenian literature. There are many copies of these works in the Mashtots Matenadaran (codices 549, 715, 4268, 10975 etc.), a precious relic of the treasury of Cilician Armenian medicine.[Fig.11]

During the 13-14th centuries, there was a noticeable increase in activities in the schools of higher education in historical Armenia. The foundation of natural sciences and medicine were taught in Yerznka, Gladzor and Tatev, large scientific centres with ancient traditions. It was during that period that in the schools of higher education of Krna and Dsordsor, centres of unitarism, that the works of a number of eminent scientists of medieval Europe were translated from Latin to Armenian. Among them were those of Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) the famous philosopher, botanist, zoologist and physician, and also the theological and natural philosophical works of Thomas Aquinas. Thus, although the ideological-political thesis of the Armenian unitarians was firmly opposed by famous figures in the schools of higher education in Greater Armenia, first and foremost those of the Gladzor and Tatev schools it did not prevent them at all from studying and spreading such works as those of the Armenian unitarians with the cooperation of European scientists.[Fig.12]

Of the medieval Armenian schools of higher education, the Tatev school is worthy of special mention, where the greatest thinker of that time Grigor Tatevatsi (1346-1409) was active. In his works, besides the basic problems of philosophy, those of the natural sciences and medicine were also studied. Grigor Tatevatsi's "Book of Questions" is an extensive treatise written in 1389, where the author's ideas on human anatomy, biology, psychology and embriology were expressed. In the "Book of Questions" the tenets of physiognomy were critically examined. These questions also interested Albertus Magnus in his "Compedium Theologicae Veritatis". In answering the question - "Are external features true? Do they really express man's character?" - Tatevatsi wrote:"We can say that they are not true for the following five reasons: firstly, such features are not compulsory for man, they show that nature has specific tendencies; secondly, since they are not large or small and are sometimes even similar for all men; thirdly, since they can be suppressed when desired, by the intellect; in the fourth case, those features are often accidental and not at all natural; and fifth, since man can, contrary to his habits and by means of abstinence, prayer or control over his body, suppress himself and not manifest those qualities. It can be deduced from all this that we must not think badly of a person, if such features are noticed on him".

The downfall of the kingdom in Cilician Armenia at the end of the 14th century and the continual wars in the 15-16th centuries between Ottoman Turkey and Persia, for rule over the territory of historical Armenia, brought about a decline in Armenian culture. During those bitter difficult years, the classical traditions of Armenian Renaissance in medicine were preserved in only a few cultural centres, the last brilliant spark of which was the works of the prominent physician Amirdovlat Amasiatsi in 15th century. He was the successor of Cilician medical school, who developed the work of the previous period, with which, in his own words "were involved our first physicians - the Great Mekhitar, physician Aharon, his son Stepanos and their family and the physicians Djoshlin, Sargis, Deghin, Simavon, Vahram, who have written many books on the influence and usefulness of medicine".[Fig.13]

The Armenian "bzheshkapet" was born in the town of Amasia in Asia Minor, which had a large Armenian population, many Armenian schools and churches. Although the exact date of his birth is not known, yet scholars in the history of Armenian medicine, based on certain indirect facts, believe it to be in the first quarter of the 15th century. That was politically an extremely tempestuous period, when the western provinces of Armenia fell under Ottoman-Turkish rule. Amirdovlat Amasiatsi lived at the time and was probably even an eye witness of the capture of

Constantinople in 1453 by Mohammed II, since in the 50's of the 15th century Amirdovlat had departed from his native town and resided in this famous cultural centre, where he very likely studied medicine under skilled physicians. Here Amirdovlat soon won acclaim as a physician, and was invited to Sultan Mohammed II's palace as his personal physician, receiving the honorary title of "djarapasha ramatanin" which literally means "head surgeon-oculist".[Fig.14]

By that time, Amirdovlat Amasiatsi was an experienced, mature physician with great knowledge, when in 1459 he wrote his first work in Constantinople "on the request of Shady-bek's son, Vard". This book was entitled "Teaching on Medicine", in which problems of embriology, anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, pathology and hygiene are presented in the spirit of the ancient and Arab medicine. In the "Teaching on Medicine" by Amirdovlat Amasiatsi, the author's tendency to reexamine the age-old experience of Armenian folk medicine in pharmacology can also be felt, for which our "bzheshkapet" revealed deep interest all through his creative life. A brilliant expression of that was his first "Akhrapatin" written in the same year 1459. In that work he tried to compile a dictionary of "simple" and "complex" drugs, of which, some quarter of a century later, he created his two voluminous works, the second"Akhrapatin" and "Useless for the Ignorants". The autograph of these works may be found today in the Mashtots Matenadaran (codex 8871).[Fig. 15]

As for the "Teaching on Medicine", it was later completely rewritten by the author and enriched with new chapters on pathology and clinical medicine. The clinical section of that work demanded quite a lot of time, since Amirdovlat's next book, enitled "The Usefulness of Medicine" was completed in 1469 in the town of Philippopolis (present-day Plovdiv, Bulgaria). In this work the author's point of view on all the fundamental problems of medicine is expressed. It is amazing in revealing the "bzheshkapet"s broad scientific outlook and his profound knowledge of previous medical literature."The Usefulness of Medicine" is written on the level of the best works of the time and summarizes the knowledge of medieval Armenian physicians on theoretical and practical questions. The section on clinical medicine is of particular value. Descriptions of more than 200 diseases of the internal organs as the brain, nerves, senses, heart, respiratory organs, the liver, stomach, intestines, urogenital and other systems as well as fevers, malignant and non-malignant tumours, poisoning, etc. were given with methods of medicinal and dietary treating.

The decade of his lifetime when these valuable works were created, was at the same time full of dramatic events in his personal life. On the one hand, he gained more and more fame as a humanist physician and talented

scientist, while on the other hand, as a Christian, he felt the jealousy and open hatred of his enemies, who were not few in the Mohammedan ruled palace. In the preface to "The Usefulness of Medicine" Amirdovlat wrote, "I have suffered many difficulties and hardships at the hands of infidels and foreigners, judges, kings and princes. For many long years I have been in exile. I have seen good and evil, I have met with adversities, I have known riches and poverty. I have wandered from land to land and practised my medicine, have used drugs according to my knowledge. I have served the sick - noblemen and rulers, military men of different ranks, citizens and paupers, the aged and the young". Forced to leave the capital, Amirdovlat did not let the ten years of exile pass in vain. Continuing his humane duties towards sick people, be they rich or poor, Amirdovlat studied the medicinal herbs of the land where his fate as a physician-periodeuta took him, often making experimental studies in the field of pharmacology.

In the 70's Amirdovlat returned from exile to Constantinople and judging from data in manuscripts, again received the honorary position of personal physician to the sultan. It was during those years that the great "bzheshkapet"'s love for Armenian literature manifested itself, his love for the creations of the physicians and philosophers of the ancient world. In the colophon of a collection (Mashtots Matenadaran codex 1921) which contains Aristotle's philosophical works with Grigor Tatevatsi's Commentaries, Andreas the scribe tells us that the manuscript was copied in 1492 in Amasia at the desire and with the agreement of physician Amirdovlat "who as a bibliophile, is at present, the second Ptolemy".

After the death of Mohammed Fatih (1481) Armenian bzheshkapet came back home. In the colophon of the book "Useless for the Ignorants" which is today in the British Museum (codex Or. 3712) the scribe mentioned the exact date of Amirdovlat's death:"The physician Amirdovlat, the author of this book, passed away true to the Christian faith, in 1496, on Thursday December 8".

During the later period of his life, he created his most outstanding works on pharmacology - the second "Akhrapatin"(1481) and the "Useless for the Ignorants"(1482).[Fig.16]

A little before those works, Amirdovlat wrote "Folk Book"(1474) which gives the basis for calling him astronomer, as Mekhitar Heratsi was called, in the medieval meaning of the word, when frequently the concepts of astronomy and astrology were closely knit.

A study of Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's works shows that although he was occupied with practical surgery, especially ophthalmology, yet taken as a

whole, he preferred conservative methods of treatment (especially phytotherapy and nutrition). It must be mentioned that the Armenian bzheshkapet was particularly interested in pharmacology where he summarized the age-old experience of folk and classical medicine.

Amirdovlat's "Uselesss for the Ignorants" is an encyclopedia of medieval Armenian pharmacology with the names of medicaments given in five languages: Armenian, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Persian. It contains 3500 names and synonyms of more than 1000 medicinal plants, 250 animals and 150 minerals. A study of that work by modern physicians makes it possible to become acquainted with the medicaments of Armenian medicine in the Middle Ages, and first of all with phytotherapy which was its main field. To cure all those diseases, in the cause of which, based on data today, the contagious-allergic factor plays a definite role, Amirdovlat Amasiatsi used such herbs as cowparsnip, inula, camomile, mugwort, hyssop, thyme, sweet-flag, black cumin, caltrops, pearl-plant, all native to Armenian plant life. Alll these herbs were rich in ether oils, vitamins, plant hormones and other substances which made for their curative influence. By means of the same experimental methods, the Armenian bzheshkapet revealed the antitumoural properties of hog's fennel, field eryngo, red periwinkle, heliotrope, meadow saffron and certain other plants. According to present data, they contain coumarin and furocoumarin derivatives as well as the alcaloids colchicine and vinblastin which have antitumoral influence. Amirdovlat attached great significance to those herbs which had antitoxic (lavender, marigold, ironwort) and tonus-raising properties (birth-wort, snake bryony).

The most of above-mentioned plants Amirdovlat used to prevent premature ageing and to maintain good health and vitality. For the same purpose he used some gums of plant, animal and inorganic origin (galbanum, sagapenum, assa-foetida, propolis, mumia etc.) [Fig.17]

Mumia, a complex natural compound formed from plant residues, excretions of animals and products of the destruction of hydrocarbons in caves of numerous countries (Iran, Afghanistan, Middle Asia) was recommended by Amirdovlat to raise the tonus of the body, to heal wounds and treat tumours. There is information on the extraction of mumia in Armenia in "Useless for the Ignorants". The author said, "There are ten nearby caves with ten different names where the mumia is produced". Altough he did not give the names of those caves, recent findings of mumia on the territory of modern Armenia (in caves of Eghegnazor) verify the data of the medieval Armenian bzheshkapet.

To use this vast amount of medicaments in Armenian pharmacopeias freely and correctly, not only need the physician to have had great experience and deep knowledge, but also be well aquainted with botany, zoology and chemistry. Amirdovlat Amasiatsi was endowed with all these qualities harmoniously combined. He made his significant contribution to medieval medicine, creating a whole library of medical works, written in middle Armenian, accessible to the people.

Thus the Armenian bzheshkapet's long life was replete with medical courage and devotion, with study and the search for new medicaments, collecting and preserving manuscripts and composing new books. Amirdovlat's works are imbued with a deep consciousness of the physician's duty, with high ethical standarts. He often expressed the principles of medical ethics,"The physician must be endowed with intellect and a sense of duty. Under no circumstances may he be fond of drinking, greedy and self-interested. He must like the poor, be merciful, devoted, pious and morally clean. If he cannot understand the essence of the disease, he must not give the patient medicine to not bring shame on himself. If he is ignorant, then it is better not to have him visit the patient and generally speaking, he must not be considered a physician". Many of these principles had been formulated by Hippocrates, the father of ancient medicine.

Like all great physicians, Amirdovlat was not alone in practising his art. He created a school of Armenian phytotherapeutists, which existed for a few centuries and the traces of whose influence can be noted in the works of such representatives of the Sebastian medical school as Hovasap, Asar and Buniat Sebastatsi. The works of Amirdovlat Amasiatsi in which as in Ibn Sina'a "Canon", almost all important branches of medicine are presented (embriology, anatomy, physiology, clinical medicine, pharmacology, surgery and therapy) have served for centuries as a medical encyclopedia. Their many hand-written manuscript copies scattered all over the world is proof of the great interest which medieval Armenian physicians took in Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's works.

During the 16-17th centuries Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's traditions have been developed by the physicians of the Sebastian medical school, who besides creating their own works, paid great attention to editing and interpreting Amirdovlat's and other authors' books. Thus, in 1614, Asar Sebastatsi wrote and in 1622 edited "The Book on the Art of Medicine", to which is added a medical dictionary in five languages. This book is of special interest because it makes extensive quotation from the works of Mekhitar Heratsi and other Armenian physicians, works lost to mankind. When editing Abusaid's "Anatomy of Man" in 1625, Asar Sebastatsi included therein a

part "On the Structure and Origin of the Eye" from the Heratsi's work on ophthalmology, which is now lost too.

Similarly prolific were the activities of another representative of the Sebastian school Buniat Sebastatsi. In 1626 in the town of Marzvan he edited Amirdovlat's book "The Usefulness of Medicine", the Matenadaran copy of which (codex 414) served as the basis for its comparative-critical text published in 1940 by Stepan Malkhasiantz. It was in the spirit of this book that in 1630 Buniat Sebastatsi summarized his medical experience and in the town of Samsun, wrote "Book on Medicine". Like Amirdovlat he collected and studied for his work the various sources of Armenian and foreign authors. In 1632 Buniat Sebastatsi edited Amirdovlat's book "Useless fot the Ignorants". Its comparative-critical text was published in 1926 by K. Basmadjian.

With the physicians of the Sebastian school ends the last period in the development of medieval Armenian medicine. Although up to the first half of the 18th century and even later, certain authors wrote their works along the traditions of Amirdovlat Amasiatsi and Mekhitar Heratsi, yet these last Mohicans in medieval Armenian medicine could not withstand the pressure of modern medicine.

Beginning with the second half of the 18th century, a number of Armenian physicians came to the fore, who had received their education in European and Russian institutions. Among them must be mentioned Petros Kalantarian, Stepanos Shahrimanian, Hovakim Oghullukhian, Mikael Resten. Petros Kalantarian was born in 1735 in Nor Djugha, then moved to Russia, graduated from the Petersburg Hospital School (later Military Medical Academia). His medical and scientific activities were closely connected with Moscow. In the preface to his "Bzheshkaran", published in 1793 in Nakhidjevan on the Don , he requested that "the modest physician Petros Djughayetsi be remembered, the son of Hovhannes Kalantarian, who now lives in Moscow, the capital of Russia". His book was devoted to the treatment of a number of contagious, allergic, skin and nervous diseases. Besides the medicaments used in European medicine Petros Kalantarian also suggested a whole series of remedies widely used in medieval Armenian medicine. Petros Kalantarian's "Bzheshkaran" also has a list of medical terms at the end where the names of the medicaments are given in Latin and Armenian as well as Greek, Arabic, Persian and Russian.

Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's traditions left a deep impression on the works of another famous Armenian physician and botanist Stepanos Shahrimanian (1766-1830). Though he received his education in Europe, graduating from the medical faculty of famous University of Padua, he conducted his

medical practice mainly in the Caucasus and Tiflis after a short period of life in Constantinople. In 1794-1818 he wrote in Tiflis his extensive work "Botany or Armenian Flora" which unfortunately is as yet, unpublished. The manuscript copies of that work, preserved in the Mashtots Matenadaran (codices 6267, 9856 etc.) give us an idea of the detailed, painstaking effort which he spent on his book, for almost a quarter of a century. In that book, those Armenian medicinal herbs are described, which were used extensively in medieval phytotherapy and especially in the "Useless for Ignorants" by Amirdovlat Amasiatsi. [Fig.18]

Stepanos Shahrimanian was also the author of a work on the medical treatment of the plague, which he wrote in 1796 in Constantinople where an epidemic of the plague was raging at that time. It must be mentioned that Armenian physicians beginning with Mekhitar Heratsi, have always been most interested in both the plague and other contagious diseases, their etio-pathology and treatment. Along with other medicaments suggested by Stepanos Shahrimanian was the Armenian clay, one of the most favourite remedies in Armenian folk medicine. It is clearly evident from Shahrimanian's works that he was well acquainted with modern European medicine and with Carolus Linnaeus' (1707-1778) classification of plants and new achievments in botany.

In the second half of the 19th century, a whole constellation of talented physicians came to the fore: Margar Arustamian (1854-1901), Vahan Ardzruni (1857-1947), Harutiun Mirza-Avagian (1879-1938), Levon Hovhannissian (1885-1970) and many others who were innovaters in old Armenian medicine and founders of the new. The vast experience of Armenian folk and classical medicine in the field of phytotherapy attracted the attention of and was studied by such great specialists in medicinal botany and pharmacology as Hovhannes Sepetjian, Simon Mirzoyan, Sofia Zolotnitskaya and others, forming an endless source for pharmaceutical production of Armenia. Modern medicine today very often refers to the rich treasury of ancient Armenian medicaments in treating a number of diseases such as cancer, atherosclerosis, physical disturbances and allergies - problems, which have not yet been solved today.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A fragment of "Materia medica" by Dioscorides (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 141, 6-7th c.)

2. White bryony - Bryonia alba L. and black bryony - Tamus communis L. (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 6594, end of 17th c.)

3. The first page of "Galen's Dictionary"(Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 266, 1468, Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's autograph)

4. The physicians examinig the patient (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, codex 370, 12th c.)

5. Nerses Shnorhali and Mekhitar Heratsi (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 7046, 1644)

6. An anatomical picture of optic nerves with chiasma opticum (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 8871, 1459, Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's autograph)

7. The title-page of Mekhitar Heratsi's "Consolation of Fevers"(Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 416, 1279)

8. Medicinal herbs used in medieval Armenian phytotherapy - Phalaris tuberosa L. and Mentha L.(Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 6594, end of the 17th c.)

9. An anatomical picture of man (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 414, 1626)

10. A portrait of philosopher and physician Djnay (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 10975, 1296-1298)

11. An anatomical picture of a horse with commentaries (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 10975, 1296-1298)

12. Grigor Tatevatsi with his disciples (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 1203,1449)

13. The medieval Armenian physician (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 8382, 14th c.)

14. The physician-oculist and his patient (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 8382, 14th c.)

15. The title-page of Amirdovlat Amasiatsi's "Teaching on Medicine"(Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 8871, 1459, autograph)

16. The "Useless for Ignorants" by Amirdovlat Amasiatsi (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 414, 1626)

17. Species of Opopanax Koch. used in medieval Armenian phytotherapy (Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, codex 6594, end of the 17th c.)

18. The title-page of the Stepanos Shahrimanian's "Botany or Armenian Flora"(Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran. codex 6267,1818, autograph)

End of Part 2 of 2

روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال»

و

«شاهنامه»

ادیک باغداساریان

در فصل پیش ما یک رشته سوژه ها و موتیوهای داستانی و افسانه ای را بررسی و مقایسه نمودیم که نه تنها در «شاهنامه» و «دلاوران ساسون» بلکه برای دنیای داستانی ملل همجوار و دور دست عمومیت دارند. در عین حال ما در آنجا ذکر نمودیم که هر یک از این حماسه ها اهمیت و تمایز مختص به خود داشته و بعنوان یک اثر ملی مختص به خود است. ولی ما نگفتیم که ملل ارمنی و ایرانی قرون متمادی با زیستن در کنار همدیگر، از تاثیرات متقابل و تبادلات ارزشهای فرهنگی مبرا مانده اند.

از منابع تاریخی آشکار می شود که خلق ارمنی در شرایط سخت زیستی به موتیوهای دنیای داستانی ایرانی متشبث شده آنان را با روح فولکلوریک خود نرم تر نموده به هر نحو سعی کرده است تا قهرمانان پهلوانی ایران را به قهرمانان حماسه ارمنی «دلاوران ساسون» پیوند دهد. قرائنی موجود است که کنجکاوی ملت ارمنی در مورد دنیای داستانی ایرانی بویژه در نیمه دوم سده یازدهم وقتی که گروه های وحشی اقوام ترک سلجوقی همچون ملخ در ارمنستان پیش می رفتند و شهرها و روستاهای پر رونق را ویران و دستخوش حریق می کردند، شدت فروانی یافته بود. نتیجه این امر چنین می شود که داستان مردمی «رستم زال» در ارمنستان بوجود می آید که بخش اعظم روایات متعدد آن را گویندگان حماسه «دلاوران ساسون» روایت کرده اند.

داستان «رستم زال» در واقع خلاصه جامع «شاهنامه» نیست. در اینجا، قهرمانانی که تاثیر مناسبات اجتماعی-سیاسی جنگ ایران-توران را برخود دارند شدیداً رنگ و بوی محلی بخود گرفته اند. آنها بطور لاینفک با شرایط و حالات ارمنیان و به مکانهایی پیوند یافته اند که قهرمانان حماسه ارمنی «دلاوران ساسون» به فعالیت پرداخته اند. و این طبیعی است.

م. آبغیان می نویسد: «تصانیف شفاهی با گذر از یکی به دیگری و اغلب توسط همان گوینده دگر بار تعریف شده بطور کلی متحول و دگرگون می شود. دگرگونی ها زمانی

اجتناب ناپذیرتر و اساسی تر می گردند که محصول روحی مناسبات سیاسی-اجتماعی و اقتصادی ناشی در شرایط اجتماعی یک طبقه است که به طور تحت اللفظی از دوران و مکانی دیگر که متناقض اولی و برخوردار از «پیش شرط های اجتناب ناپذیر برای رونق ادبیات حماسی» است ، گذر می کند[۱].

بی تردید، به دلایل یاد شده توسط م. آبغیان داستان، «رستم زال» نیز در ارمنستان مقبول بود و بی گمان با سلیقه و نحوه استنباط شرایط جدید مکانی تطبیق یافته با ترقی اجتماعی-اقتصادی جامعه ارمنی و سیاست داخلی و خارجی ارمنستان پرورده و هم آهنگ شده است.

تقریباً تمام قهرمانان روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال» قهرمانان «دلاوران ساسون» هم اصل و نسب هستند. در یکی از آنها رستم بعنوان یک نفر اهل ساسون ارمنستان که دوست هوان طنین انداز عموی برزو است نمایان می گردد. در روایتی دیگر داویت پدر برزو است اما در سومی، زال بصورت پادشاه شهر ساسون در می آید و جز اینها.

قابل توجه است که گویندگان ارمنی تنها به ارمنی نمودن قهرمانان داستان «رستم زال» اکتفا نکرده اند. آنان داستان را در لفافه تشریحات آداب و سنن زیستی و فولکلور ملی مختص بخود قرار می دهند و نتیجه چنین می شود که داستان با برخورداری از سوژه تاریخی پهلوان نامدار ایرانی بعنوان هسته خود، بکلی دگرگون گشته شکلی نو یافته است. آن داستان تبدیل به داستان قهرمانانه بازسازی شده جدیدی با خطوط فولکلور مردمی ارمنی گردیده و حماسه ارمنی «دلاوران ساسون» را بیشتر بیاد می آورد تا «شاهنامه»را.

مثلاً پاتور بوغوسیان یکی از گویندگان ارمنی داستان «رستم زال»، حکایت مربوط به انتخاب اسب رستم را دقیقا بگونه ای تعریف می کند که موراد هوسپیان گوینده حماسه ارمنی به داستان مربوط به داویت را تعریف می کند که چگونه او بتوصیه پیرزن اسب عمویش را بر می دارد.[۲]

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[۱] - دلاوران ساسون. ۱۹۳۶. جلد ۱. ص ۲۷-۲۸.

[۲] - دلاوران ساسون. ایروان: ۱۹۵۱. جلد ۲، بخش ۲، ص ۲۶۹-۲۷۰. فردوسی. (مجموعه). ایروان: ۱۹۳۴. ص ۱۶۹-۱۷۰.

این امر شایان توجه است که در هر دو داستان، مسئله انتخاب بر اسبی که از دریا زاده شده واقع می گردد، داویت کره جلال را که جدش ساناسار از دریا در آورده بود، انتخاب می کند اما رستم رخش «جوان» (کره) را.[۱]

فردوسی در مورد انتخاب اسب رستم چنین نقل نمی کند. او نخست در باره به افراسیاب پادشاه توران که با سپاهش به ایران می تازد سخن می گوید. آنگاه توصیف می کند که چگونه بزرگان ایران گرد زال به مشورت می پردازند. آن پیر می گوید که این بار نوبت جنگ رستم است و قول می دهد که برای او «اسبی با قدرت پیل بیابد». او سپس گفتگوی میان پدر و پسر را می نگارد که در حین آن زال از رستم قدردانی کرده او را بر علیه دشمن تحریک می نماید. رستم با شنیدن دقیق سخنان او، آمادگی اش را اعلام می کند. وی می گوید که عاشق شراب نیست، اگر کمانش را بکار گیرد «از تیرکش ستاره می بارد، زره پوست ببر می پوشم و همه جا مرگ و نیستی خواهم گسترد» و غیره. بدین جهت او « اسبی چون تپه، گرزی چون پاره کوه، زره ای از پوست ببر که از آتش و آب آسیب ناپذیر است» احتیاج دارد. فردوسی در پایان اضافه می کند که کلیه رمه های زابلی و کابلی را نزد رستم می آورند و او (رخش) کره را بر می گزیند که بگفته اسب بان «از قبل برای جهان پهلوان تعیین گردیده بود».

چنانکه می بینیم، تمایز قطعه «رستم زال» آشکار است. تنها در مفهوم واقعی حدیث یعنی در داستان انتخاب اسب شباهتی دیده می شود که برای اکثر حماسه ها عمومیت دارد. این مفهوم واقعی حدیث موجود در داستان رستم زال منوط به پرستش آب بعنوان یکی از پدیده های قهار طبیعت است. این امر در «شاهنامه» دیده نمی شود ولی با کلیه رشته ها و شعبات آن در حماسه دلاوران ساسون گسترش جریان می یابد.

قابل ذکر است که گویندگان ارمنی این خط و ویژگی آبزادی قهرمانان ارمنی را وارد داستان «رستم زال» نموده اند. در اینجا نیز آب در زندگی قهرمان نقش اساسی ایفا می

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[۱] – گ. هوسپیان. رستم زال . داستان مردی. بخش ۱، تفلیس: ۱۹۰۵. ص ۴.

کند و در اینجا نیز پیرزنی با پندهایش ظاهر می شود و به توصیه او رستم «حوض» آبتنی کرده و تنها آنگاه به جنگ می رود.

تنفر قهرمانان نسبت به ستم و زورگویی در هر دو داستان به یک شکل ابراز می گردد. لیکن گویندگان تدارک مختص به قهرمانان را بصورت تجهیز نان با زره و اسلحه توصیف می کنند. این امر نیز جالب توجه است که رستم نیز دقیقاً مانند داویت سلاح برمی گیرد. حتی آرایش اسب او نیز شبیه زیور آلات کره جلال است.[۱]

گویندگان برای بیان تنفر قهرمانان نسبت به استبداد و ستم در هر دو مورد، داستان زیان دیدگی مالیاتچیان را بنحوی خاص ذکر می کنند. واضح است که داویت در حماسه « دلاوران ساسون» از چنین ویژگی سزادهی برخوردار است[۲].

رستم در داستان «رستم زال» نیز با باجگیران بیگانه چنان رفتار می کنند که داویت. او نیز دندانهای باجگیرها را کشیده بر پیشانیشان میخ می کند.

جنگ رستم بر علیه پادشاه دشمن که در داستان «رستم زال» بیان شده کاملاً با حماسه ارمنی هماهنگی دارد. قهرمان در اینجا نیز با مشاهده سپاه بیشمار دشمن احساس ترس و بیم، عدم قاطعیت می کند ولی به تشویق و ترغیب اسبش، به کارزار شتافته به دلاوری هایی چون داویت مفتخر می گردد.

با نظر به این مقایسه ها متوجه می شویم که «شیطنت های کودکانه سهراب و اعتراض شهر»، «شکار سهراب و نفرین پیر مزرعه دار»، «سهراب از مادرش آگاهی می یابد که رستم پدرش است» و سایر قطعات نیز در نتیجه حماسه قهرمانانه مردمی ارمنی ابداع شده اند.

قطعه «برزو» که مربوط به زندگی و اعمال فرزند سهراب است و در یک رشته روایات این داستان موجود است پیوند دورادوری با «شاهنامه» دارد. برخی از پژوهشگران گمان می کنند که این بخش از داستان «رستم زال» نیز وامگیری لغوی «برزونامه» پارسی است که با الهام از «شاهنامه»، فردوسی نوشته شده است.

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[۱] – گ. هوسپیان. رستم زال. داستان مردمی. بخش ۱. تفلیس: ۱۹۰۵. ص ۵.

[۲] – دلاوران ساسون. ایروان: ۱۹۳۶. جلد۱. ص ۱۶.

اثبات این نظریه دشوار است. واقعیت این است که بر روی قطعه «برزه» نیز تاثیر حماسه «دلاوران ساسون» بیشتر است تا منظومه «برزو نامه». ما معتقدیم که در داستان «رستم زال» برزه همان نقشی را ایفا می کندکه مهر کوچک در حماسه «دلاوران ساسون». اختلاف تنها در نامهایشان است و آنهم نه در تمام موارد. گویندگان در چند روایت این داستان برزو را مستقیماً مهر می نامند یا می گوید «او از دلاوران ساسونه»[۱].

برزه شبیه مهر نیز مولودشرایط جدید است. او جانشین ارزنده داویت و رستم است که پس از آنها بار دیگر ملوک مصر، افراسیاب ها و سندیهای سلمان و سایرین برملل ارمن و ایران تاخته هوان طنین انداز و زال-زر پیر را ناراحت می کردند.

بخش مذکور در «دلاوران ساسون» با این نامه ارسالی هوان طنین انداز به مهر مستدل می شود:

« ای مهر ، پسران خویشاوند با کزبادین به شهر ساسون تاخته اند ولی توان مقابله با آنان را ندارم ، پا شو بیا به دادم برس.»[۲].

همین نگرانی را در نزد زال نیز می یابیم:

«یکروز پادشاه زال به دلاک خانه (آرایشگاه) رفته بود و اصلاح می کرد، برزو را دید که از دامن عمویش هوان گرفته گردش می کرد. همین که چشم پادشاه زال به برزو افتاد چنان آهی کشید که دیگر نگو. برزه گفت:

-پادشاها موقعی که من زنده ام چرا باید آه بکشی؟

گفت، ای فرزند وقتی چشمم به تو افتاده پدرت بیادم آمد. در دربند پولادین، سیصد و شصت و شش خانه بود هیچکس غیر از پدرت نمی توانست باج بگیرد. حالا تو را دیدم غم تو تحت تاثیرم قرار داد»[۳].

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[۱] - ب. خالاتیانتس. قهرمانان ایران در بین خلق ارمنی. استامبول: ۱۹۰۱. ص ۲۵.

[۲] - دلاوران ساسون. جلد ۱. ایروان: ۱۹۳۶. ص ۲۲۹.

[۳] - ب. خالاتیانتس. قهرمانان ایران در بین خلقها ارمنی. استامبول: ۱۹۰۱. ص ۲۴.

البته از نقل قولهای مذکور این نتیجه اخذ نمی شود که هر دوقهرمان تحت تاثیر علل یکسان آشکارا به یک شکل عمل می کنند. در اعمال آنها تنها این امر مشترک است که هر دوی آنها نه تنها قوم خود بلکه ملل همسایه و حتی دور دست را نیز می خواهند آزاد ببینند. مثلاً مهر با این آگاهی است که در برابر پیر آدمخوار حلب و دیو کوپ بغداد می جنگد[۱]، برزه نیز با این آگاهی با دیو، باجگیران و پهلوان قطران پادشاه قره باغ و سایرین به ستیز می پردازد[۲].

تمام اینها بطور انکارناپذیری نشان می دهند که تاثیر «دلاوران ساسون» برای داستان «رستم زال» بیشتر به چشم می خورد تا تاثیر «شاهنامه» بر «دلاوران ساسون». لیکن این بدان معنی نیست که ویرایش ارمنی بکلی از موتیوهای «شاهنامه» محروم بوده به توازی آن قرار ندارد. در واقع در بسیاری روایات داستان قطعاتی وجود دارند که بخش های مترادف «شاهنامه» را به باد می آورند لیکن اینها باعث نمی شوند تا داستان را کلاً یک قرض گیری بدانیم زیرا تاثیر یک انعکاس دور دست بجای می گذارند که به آسانی در حماسه های سایر خلقها نیز یافت می شود. مثلا در «دلاوران ساسون» جنگ تن به تن داویت با فرزندش از اینگونه نمونه هاست که بین زئوس و کرونوس یونانی، اهورامزدا و زروان پارسی، ایلیاموورومتسی و سوکولیک روسی، کریزامور و کارتون سلتی و میان پدر و فرزندان حماسه های سایر خلقها نیز موجود است. آکادمیسین هوسپ اوربلی متذکر می شود که این امر مبارزه ریشه در قرون باستان دارد یعنی وقتی که خدایان نیک نقشی جدید می پذیرفتند و گاه به خدایان خبیث مبدل می گشتند. لیکن این دگردیسی در تمام حماسه ها روی نمی دهد. مثلاً در حماسه ارمنی ، داویت و مهر جنگ تن به تن می کنند ولی این جنگ به کشته شدن یکی از طرفین منجر نمی شود بلکه پدر و پسر همدیگر را باز می شناسند. جالب است که در یکی از روایات داستان «رستم زال» جنگ تن به تن رستم و سهراب نیز چنین پایانی دارد و پدر فرزندش را بجا می آورد.[۳]

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[۱] – دلاوران ساسون. جلد۱. ایروان: ۱۹۳۶. ص ۲۳۶–۲۳۸.

[۲] – ب. خالاتیان. قهرمانان ایران در بین خلق ارمنی. استامبول: ۱۹۰۱. ص ۲۸–۳۲.

[۳] – ر. ش. مجموعه قوم شناسی امین. جلد ۵، ۱۹۰۳. ص ۱۱.

در یک رشته روایات داستان «رستم زال» نمونه هایی نیز هستند که در آنها جنگ تن به تن پدر و فرزند دقیقاً به گونه ای که فردوسی نگاشته پایان می پذیرند. لیکن در این مورد نیز تاثیر فکر سنتی قدیمی ارمنی بیشتر به چشم می خورد تا «شاهنامه». [۱]

گویندگان با تعریف داستان رستم این فکر را القاء می کنند که اگر رستم می توانست یکساعت جسد فرزندش را در بغل به دور میدان بگردد، پس او دوباره زنده می شد. به نظر ما بر روی این قطعه، اثر افسانه «ارمنی زاده» (آرای زیبا رو) که تحت تاثیر پرستش خدایی که می مرد و زنده می شد و در سده های ۷-۶ پ. م. در ارمنستان بوجود آمده بود، دورادور به چشـــــــم می خورد. افلاطون (۴۲۷-۳۴۷ق.م.) فیلسوف یونانی نخستین نگارنده این افسانه گواهی می دهد که آرا در جنگ کشته شده و «در روز دوازدهم دراز کشیده بر روی پشته آتش زنده می شود»[۲]. این امر در داستان ارمنی «رستم زال» روی نمی دهد زیرا احتمالاً در اساس آن واریانتی از افسانه در دوران بعدی قرار دارد که در آن تعریف می شود که شامیرام با ناباوری نسبت به زنده شدن مجدد آرا، دستور داد تا او را در چاهی انداخته و آنرا بپوشانند.

این گمان ما توسط روایتی از داستان تضمین می شود که در آن گفته می شود که رستم پس از سه سال گرداندن جسد فرزندش در تمام جهان بر روی دوشش، به توصیه یک پیرزن «آن را دفن می کند» با این باور که روزی دوباره زنده شود.[۳]

جالب است که به عقیده فردوسی، رستم نیز سعی دارد فرزندش را زنده کند، البته نه به شکلی که گویندگان ما تعریف می کنند. او تنها می داند که در نزد کیخسرو پادشاه ایران دارویی وجود دارد که با آن فرزندش علاج می یابد. لذا گودرز را نزد پادشاه می فرستد که او هم دست خالی باز می گردد و سهراب می میرد.

آنچه که به جنگ تن به تن پدر و فرزند مربوط می شود در اینجا نیز تفاوت فاحشی دارد. آنگونه که در روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال» تشریح گردیده هیچگونه شباهتی با قطعه مطابق «شاهنامه» احساس نمی شود.

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[۱] - «فردوسی» (مجموعه). ایروان: ۱۹۳۴. ص ۴۰۳.

[۲] - برای جزئیات ر.ش. به کتاب ما «ابن سینا و ادبیات ارمنی». ایروان: ۱۹۶۰. ص ۹۴-۱۱۶.

[۳] - گ. هوسپیان. رستم زال، داستان مردم. تفلیس: ۱۹۰۵. بخش ۱، ص ۱۲.

جریان عشق بیژن نیز که در یکی از روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال» شرح آن رفته انعکاسی از تشابه دورادور با «شاهنامه» است. از این قسمت چنین استنباط می شود که بازسازی مردمی ارمنی آن نیز با داشتن سوژه داستان «بیژن و منیژه» «شاهنامه» بعنوان هسته خود با شرایط ارمنیان چنان دگرگون گشته اسامی در موارد تغییر یافته هیچگونه اثری از شباهت بجای ننهاده اند.[۱]

«شباهت» دیگری که میان «شاهنامه» و «رستم زال» مشاهده می کنیم حدیث سیاوش است. باید متذکر شد که روایت منسوب به سیاوش پیش از فردوسی نیز بر ملل مشرق زمین شناخته بود و آن را با تشابه و یا تفاوتهایی جزئی، در بسیاری کشورها تعریف و روایت نموده اند.

حدیث او در ارمنستان نیز احتمالاً از دیرباز شناخته شده بود. غوند آلیشان در کتاب «های بوساک» خود گلی را بنام «خون سیاوشان» (خون اژدها) ذکر می کند که ارمنیان آن را «آغباراتس آریون» می گویند. بگفته او «از این نام دو مطلب ارمنی اخذ می شود،ا یکی گل و یکی هم شیره یا سمغ که امیر دولت [۲]راجع به آن می نویسد که در عربی آنرا «دم الاخوای» می نامند... خودش قرمز است و در جزیره عمان یافت می شود و از آنجا می آورند، دو نوع است، نوع مرغوب آن قرمز و صاف باشد»[۳].

غ. آلیشان آنگاه با شگفتی اضافه می کند که گل «آغبراتس آریون» ملل شرق و اروپایی را با زیبایی اش خیره و مجذوب کرده و آواز ارمنی مربوط به آن را ذکر می کند:

ای آغبراتس آریون من
که رستی در این سنگها
چشمات نرگس گون

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[۱] – ر. ش. به «فردوسی» (مجموعه). ایروان: ۱۹۳۴. ص ۱۷۷-۱۹۴.

۲ – امیر دولت آماسیاتسی پزشک ارمنی. م.

[۳] – آلیشان. های بوساک. ونیز: ۱۸۹۵. ص ۲۲.

یکی در خواب و یکی بیدار[۱]

در «شاهنامه» راجع به گل «خون سیاوشان» چنین آمده که سیاوش را به دشت می برند و تشتی را زیر سرش نهاده سرش را از تنش جدا می کنند یک قطره از خون روی زمین می افتد و گل خون سیاوشان از آن جا می روید.

همین امر در روایت مردمی ارمنی «رستم زال» نیز موجود است و در آنجا حکایت می شود که وقتی افراد افراسیاب خانه سیاوش را محاصره می کنند او در ناامیدی مرگبار به زنش می گوید:

«مگذار خون روی زمین بریزد ، زیرا باید در تشت بریزد...»[۲].

اتفاقی که بین سیاوش و نامادریش روی می دهد مخالفت ریاکارانه این زن شهوتران با عزیمت سیاوش به توران، داستان ازدواج و غیره هم در «شاهنامه» فردوسی و هم در داستان ارمنی «رستم زال» موجودند. لیکن تمام اینها در هر دو اثر با خطوط و استنباط متفاوت ارائه می شوند.

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[۱] - همانجا. ص ۲۵.

[۲] -گ. هوسپیان. رستم زال. داستان مردمی. بخش ۱. تفلیس: ۱۹۰۱. ص ۲۹.

خلاصه مطالب فوق الذکر به شرح زیر است:

الف- روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال» با برخورداری از داستان رستم، این قهرمان مردمی ایران بعنوان هسته خود، در ارمنستان در شرایط و اوضاع و احوال ارمنی در دوره تسلط ترکان سلجوقی ابداع گشته با تداوم خود بصورت داستانسرایی نوین مردمی جلوه گر شده است.

ب- روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال» از سبک های ابداعی، تاکید فردی، انحرافات لیریک مبرا بوده با خطوط صمیمی حماسه مردمی ارمنی «دلاوران ساسون» و نیز با تشابه قطعات و رویدادها و تکرار شرایط زمانی آن پرورده شده است.

پ- روایات ارمنی داستان «رستم زال» نشان می دهند که قهرمان ایرانی در شرایط مکانی ارمنیان چنان صمیمی گشته که با خویشاوند شدن با قهرمانان حماسه ارمنی با آنان در جنگ های استقلال ارمنستان شرکت و همیاری نموده اند.

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مقالات و مطالب رسیده باز گردانده نمی شود.

استفاده از مطالب "آپاگا" با ذکر ماخذ آزاد است.

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